/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory [182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's • [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [156] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

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619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

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[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

● 241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the terçados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
[361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarĩ --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carĩ, cotton,
[462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

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36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. 'Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
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114
142
302
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516
624
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Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auaí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 264

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

824 241

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

[648]

231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póläwan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

591 596 197 241 [601]

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together; to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

StLayrisse et al. D. E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

Agriculture

• 241 Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 789 302 276 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao"palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 481 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /Fig. 1 appears here./

241 [462] The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 857 [423] Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

● 241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Introductory, P. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

*621 *628 613 The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between *602 *628 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related *621 622 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own *621 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly *578 [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out [411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter * [241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and [361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages *361 *621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting *621 and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting 602 solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

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[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yąnomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 578 [602] to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

621 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are
593 brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number
152 of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly
602 brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is
536 not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel
579 husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

181 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote
152 friction and fighting within villages and lead to village
621 splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek
602 marriage alliances with other groups.
583
582

Economic practices

361 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural
241 sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of
722 their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance
621 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop
578 within the village and it is expected that these will
241

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

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The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

351 large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [137] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

361 [133] [484] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is

[179] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages,

[221] [184] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

• 241 The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

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[1] The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

10xChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

24 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
269 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[146] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
(177) Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[152] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[422] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [101] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [527 574 439] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527 241] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food [578 621 629] given away during the feast. During club-fights within the village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 92 554 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horti-
174 cultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently
224 characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting
222 and gathering people who have only recently adopted culti-
241 vation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

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[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[241] [36] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shįhota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanabŏwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

*628 361 • 241 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in 1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from their major enemies, the PatanowĒ-tedi. Their allies, the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi and the Reyabobǫwei-tedi, lived to their west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the MǫwĒraoba-tedi and Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west, the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding parties that initiated in the east.

361 241 245 Another factor influences the choice of site when the members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings. The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites 361 241 245 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of 114 *628 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to BarawĒ-tĒka,[1]

[1]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

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abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

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During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-tëka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the PatanowÃ-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the PatanowÃ-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the YąnomamÖ may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the YąnomamÖ: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1]The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
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• 241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
*621
*628 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
361
722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowã-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

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Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 847 721 7122 *628 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 +628 578 241 7122 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

174 175 *628 *621 descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowä-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayäaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

174 175 *628 721 583 The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawä-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawä-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokoiwä-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawä-

174 175 *628 721 241 722 tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

174 *628 726 The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowä-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawä-urihi-tedi, a village

000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Hahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-täka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-täka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-täka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-täka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-täka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1]This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was
*628 living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service.
73 The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many
92 women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-
(583) tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

174 (2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions,
*62 each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and
578 abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the fre-
36 quency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were
• 24 always fighting with each other," said one of my informants,
(195) "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but

174 the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller
36 (Brararabõwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fear-
*628 ing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

and returned to Patanowë-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowë-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowë-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowë-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowë-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwë-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwë-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowë-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwë. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwë (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawë and the two younger brothers of Paruriwë, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibëwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabëwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

[Kaaowei-tedi Group]

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
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729 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
[729] These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where
[103]
• [241] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka.
[752] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
• [628] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

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175 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
721 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They
• 628 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting
361 their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

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175 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
361 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
241 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
• 621 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tĕka and Barawĕ-tĕka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwĕ-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

Area 9: Kobou-tika

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawä, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yąnomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tika had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawä-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowä-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowä-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowä-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowä in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowä-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwä, was given two wives by the Patanowä-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

726 return.

726 G23 36

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute the war more vigorously. They collected food from their garden and moved into their new site at Moyenabŏwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowĕ-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowĕ-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

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The Patanowĕ-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowĕ-tĕka, with the Ashadowĕ-tedi, and their new garden, Shihota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowĕ-tedi raids against the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawĕ-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawĕ-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowĕ-tedi and the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowĕ-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasabŏwĕ-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[341] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

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[1] This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2] I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3] See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

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removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

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a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä bosi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä hushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

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Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua härö*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

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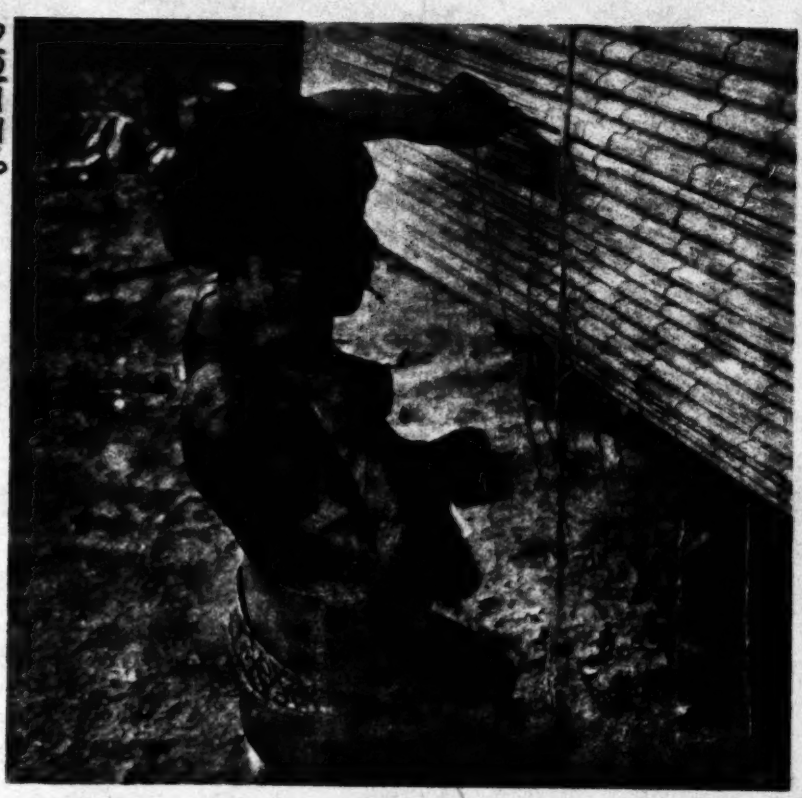

Fig. 2–7. Orastimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

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[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waiheŋ*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

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guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

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so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of, Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they *628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä [648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

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villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*broke*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

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general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

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spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

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supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

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The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kaobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kaobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yanomamö village can continue to exist as a separate entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yanomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yanomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

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bawä's group arrived. The men of Kąobawä's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kąobawä's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Möwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawä's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawä's group escape.

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreiböwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreiböwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women.

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kąobawä's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kąobawä's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri.

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawä's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawä's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamö political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kąobawä's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawä and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawä and his group.

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawä's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace.

By 1960, Kąobawä's group had regained some of its military strength and had

One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowā-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowā-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawā and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowā-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawā, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwā, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawā delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

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burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *swaiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mõmariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

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he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen–even Kąobawä–implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

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